

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1075

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 ISLAMABAD 6504

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PK

SUBJ: PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN RELATIONS -- QUARTERLY ASSESSMENT

SUMMARY: THE LAST THREE MONTHS

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HAVE BEEN A RELATIVELY

QUIET PERIOD IN THE CONDUCT OF PAK FOREIGN RELATIONS:  
GOP ATTENTION SEEMED LARGELY FOCUSED ON DOMESTIC CONCERNS.

INDO-PAK NORMALIZATION EFFORTS WERE SET BACK BY A CONTINUED DEADLOCK ON CIVIL AIR ISSUES, BUT DISCUSSIONS OF PROPOSALS AND COUNTERPROPOSALS ON NUCLEAR WEAPON RENUNCIATION AND REDUCTION OF BORDER FORCES WERE POSSIBLY PROMISING DEVELOPMENTS. THE GOP'S LONGER TERM ASSESSMENT OF THE DIRECTION IN WHICH INDO-PAK RELATIONS ARE GOING HAS BEEN CLOUDED BY RECENT EVENTS IN INDIA.

PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS ARE ON MUCH LESS DANGEROUS GROUND THAN THEY WERE EARLIER IN THE YEAR, AND ATMOSPHERICS HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY IMPROVED, BUT PROSPECTS FOR ANY SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN RESOLVING FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES REMAIN POOR. PROGRESS TOWARD NORMALIZATION OF PAK-BANGLADESH RELATIONS ARE STILL STALLED. PAKISTAN'S TIES WITH IRAN AND THE MUSLIM WORLD REMAIN WARM.

PAK RELATIONS WITH THE US ARE VERY GOOD, BUT THE PAKS HAVE BEEN APPREHENSIVE THAT THE US RETREAT FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA MIGHT PRESAGE A WEAKENING OF THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT PAKISTAN'S INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY; THEY WELCOMED SECRETARY KISSINGER'S REAFFIRMATION OF SUPPORT AT CENTO. THE GOP CONTINUES TO VIEW THE PRC AS ITS CLOSEST BIG POWER SUPPORTER. THE SOVIETS HAVE REPORTEDLY MADE QUIET OVERTURES TO THE PAKS OVER THE PAST MONTHS. PAK WARINESS HAS PROBABLY BEEN ENHANCED BY MOSCOW'S ALL-OUT SUPPORT TO THE EMBATTLED MRS. GANDHI.

THE PATTERN OF GOP POSITIONS FAMILIAR FROM POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA -- SUPPORT FOR MAINSTREAM THIRD WORLD POSITIONS -- CONTINUES TO CARRY OVER TO ECONOMIC ISSUES AS WELL. END SUMMARY.

1. INTRODUCTION. THE LAST THREE MONTHS HAVE BEEN A RELATIVELY QUIET PERIOD IN THE CONDUCT OF PAK FOREIGN RELATIONS. ITS MAJOR EVENTS -- ANOTHER ROUND IN THE SIMLA PROCESS, A LIMITED BREAKTHROUGH IN PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS, THE VISIT HERE OF A PRC VICE PREMIER -- WERE UNDRAMATIC. THE GOP'S ATTENTION SEEMED LARGELY CONFIDENTIAL

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FOCUSED ON DOMESTIC CONCERNS: FOR THE FIRST QUARTER YEAR SPAN IN RECENT TIMES PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO DID NOT LEAVE PAKISTAN. EVENTS IN INDIA TOWARDS THE END OF THE PERIOD SEEMED TO THE GOP TO POSE SERIOUS POTENTIAL PROBLEMS FOR PAKISTAN, BUT THEY HAD NO IMMEDIATE IMPACT ON THIS KEY AREA IN PAK FOREIGN POLICY. THE SLOW PACE OF DEVELOPMENTS WAS IN MARKED CONTRAST TO THE OFTEN TUMULTUOUS SERIES OF EVENTS WHICH TOOK

PLACE EARLIER IN THE YEAR.

2. INDIA. EFFORTS TO MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE SIMLA NORMALIZATION PROCESS RECEIVED A SETBACK IN MAY WHEN INDIAN AND PAK DELEGATIONS DEADLOCKED FOR A SECOND TIME IN NEGOTIATIONS ON CIVIL AIR MATTERS. ALTHOUGH THE TALKS WERE HELD IN AN EXTREMELY CORDIAL ATMOSPHERE AND THE TWO SIDES WERE ABLE TO ACHIEVE SOME WELCOME ADVANCES IN DEALING WITH CONTROVERSIES OVER PROPAGANDA AND INDUS WATERS, THE CIVIL AIR ISSUE WAS THE PRIMARY ITEM ON THE AGENDA, AND THE FAILURE ONCE AGAIN TO SCORE A BREAKTHROUGH CAME AS A SERIOUS DISAPPOINTMENT TO THE GOP. IN THE WAKE OF THE CHANGE IN US MILITARY SUPPLY POLICY IN SOUTH ASIA AND THE APPREHENSION, WHETHER REAL OR FEIGNED, THAT THIS AROUSED IN INDIA, THE RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUE, INTRINSICALLY OF LIMITED IMPORTANCE, HAS COME TO BE REGARDED AS A SYMBOL BOTH OF THE COMMITMENT OF THE TWO SIDES TO NORMALIZATION AND OF THEIR POLITICAL WILL TO ADVANCE TOWARD IT. PROSPECTS FOR A SETTLEMENT IN A THIRD ROUND EXPECTED WITHIN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS ARE UNCERTAIN. SEEMINGLY FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES OVER THE ISSUE OF THE RIGHT OF RECOURSE TO ICAO IN SETTLEMENT OF THE CIVIL AIR CONTROVERSY OF 1971 REMAINS THE STUBMLING BLOCK. PRIME MINISTER GANDHI'S POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES SEEMED TO THE PAKS AT FIRST TO HAVE DIMINISHED THE POSSIBILITY OF COMPROMISE (OR OBFUSCATION). WHETHER THIS INITIAL ESTIMATE PROVES THE CASE -- AND THE PAKS NOW SEEM TO BE HAVING MORE HOPEFUL SECOND THOUGHTS -- WILL DEPEND ON UNPREDICTABLE EVENTS IN INDIA.

3. THE RESUMPTION OF OVERFLIGHTS AND DIRECT AIRLINKS BY INDIAN AND PAK CARRIERS IS ONE OF THREE SIMLA AGENDA  
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ITEMS STILL UNSETTLED. OF THE OTHER TWO, THE ISSUE OF THE RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS REMAINS IN INDIA'S HANDS; THE PAKS ARE PREPARED TO EXCHANGE EMBASSIES WHENEVER NEW DELHI GIVES THE WORD. THE MOST INTRACTABLE OF ALL, A SETTLEMENT OF THE KASHMIR DISPUTE, SEEMS AS DISTANT AS EVER, AT LEAST IN ANY FORMAL SENSE. THE PAKS HAVE, HOWEVER, GIVEN FURTHER EVIDENCE

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AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMMBASSY KATHMANDU 869

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 ISLAMABAD 6504

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

OF THEIR WILLINGNESS TO LIVE WITH THE PRESENT DIVISION  
OF THE DISPUTED STATE. DURING THE QUARTER THEY TOOK  
FURTHER STEPS TOWARD INTEGRATING AZAD KASHMIR INTO THE  
MAINSTREAM OF PAK POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE; THEY  
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ALSO LARGELY ABANDONED THEIR FULMINATIONS AGAINST  
SHEIKH ABDULLAH, WHOSE RETURN TO POWER IN INDIAN KASH-

MIR IN FEBRUARY HAD BROUGHT A LOUD PAK OUTBURST. THE PAKS NOW SEEM MUCH MORE TROUBLED BY THE PROSPECT OF AN INDIAN MOVE AGAINST THE AREAS OF KASHMIR THEY CONTROL -- THEY EXPRESS CONCERN THAT IN AN EFFORT TO BOLSTER HER REGIME AND RESTORE UNITY MRS. GANDHI MAY IN TIME ORDER A DIVERSIONARY MOVE THERE -- THAN INTERESTED IN DISTURBING THE DIVISION THEMSELVES.

4. THE SIMLA PROCESS HAS COME TO MEAN MORE THAN FULFILLMENT OF THE AGREEMENT'S FORMAL AGENDA ITEMS; IT ENCOMPASSES ALL MEASURES WHICH CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE MAY DISCUSSIONS AT NEW DELHI OF PROPOSAL AND

COUNTERPROPOSALS ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE REDUCTION OF FORCES STATIONED IN BORDER AREAS ARE POSSIBLY PROMISING DEVELOPMENTS: THE VERY FACT THAT THE TWO SIDES WERE PREPARED TO DISCUSS SUCH TENSION-REDUCING MEASURES IS ITSELF A GOOD SIGN. WHETHER ANYTHING WILL COME OF THIS START IS UNCERTAIN. THE PAKS, FOR THEIR PART, CONTINUE TO TOUT A SOUTH ASIAN MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT IN WHICH THE SIGNATORIES UNDERTAKE TO USE NUCLEAR POWER FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES ONLY. THEY ARE SEEKING REGIONAL SUPPORT FOR THIS APPROACH. THE GOI CALL FOR A BILATERAL AGREEMENT, LIKE ANY ARRANGEMENT WHICH "LEAVES PAKISTAN ALONE" WITH ITS LARGER, AND FROM THE GOP VIEWPOINT, UNTRUSTWORTHY NEIGHBOR, IS A MUCH LESS ATTRACTIVE PROPOSITION FOR THE PAKS.

5. AS SUGGESTED ABOVE, THE GOP'S LONGER-TERM ASSESSMENT OF THE DIRECTION IN WHICH INDO-PAK RELATIONS ARE GOING HAS BEEN CLOUDED BY RECENT EVENTS IN INDIA. THE GOP WAS REMARKABLY CIRCUMSPECT IN ITS INITIAL REACTION TO THE (FOR IT, UNEXPECTED) INDIAN EMERGENCY PROCLAMATION, IT HAS MAINTAINED STRICT OFFICIAL SILENCE AND HAS ENCOURAGED RESTRAINT BY THE MEDIA. THIS HELPFUL ATTITUDE HAS BEEN WELCOMED IN NEW DELHI. PAK NOTIONS CONFIDENTIAL

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ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THEMSELVES OF INDIAN DEVELOPMENTS REMAIN UNDERSTANDABLY TENTATIVE AT THIS TIME (AS DO OURS), AND UNTIL THINGS BECOME CLEARER IN INDIA NO MEANINGFUL FORECAST CAN BE MADE.

6. AFGHANISTAN. THE TENSION IN PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS WHICH DEVELOPED FOLLOWING THE ASSASSINATION OF NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE MINISTER SHERPAO IN EARLY FEBRUARY WAS CONSIDERABLY REDUCED DURING THE QUARTER,

PROBABLY AS MUCH BY THE PASSAGE OF TIME AS BY ANY OTHER CONSIDERATION. THE TWO COUNTRIES ACHIEVED A MINOR BREAKTHROUGH IN AGREEING (SECRETLY, AT GOA INSISTENCE) TO BAN AD HOMINEM PROPAGANDA, A PARTICULARLY PROVOCATIVE FEATURE OF THEIR WORD WARFARE. OTHER ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENTS WERE BHUTTO'S HELPFUL PERSONAL INTERVENTION IN RESOLVING A DISPUTE OVER PROVISION OF PAKISTAN RAILWAYS WAGONS FOR TRANSPORT OF FREIGHT BETWEEN KARACHI PORT AND AFGHANISTAN AND AN APPARENT SOFTENING OF GOA RHETORIC ON THE PAK-TUNISTAN ISSUE. ALSO ON THE CREDIT SIDE WAS THE DEVELOPMENT OF WHAT SEEMED AN EASIER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PAKISTAN AMBASSADOR IN KABUL AND THE GOA FOREIGN OFFICE. (THERE IS NO INDICATION, HOWEVER, THAT THE AFGHANS ARE YET PREPARED TO SEND AN AMBASSADOR TO ISLAMABAD, WHERE THEY HAVE BEEN REPRESENTED BY A CHARGE FOR SOME TEN MONTHS.)

7. THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE TO SOME EXTENT BEEN OBSCURED BY THE PUBLICITY GIVEN THE SUPREME COURT'S REVIEW OF THE GOP DISSOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY, A MOVE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SHERPAO ASSASSINATION AND A COMPLICATING ELEMENT IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE GOP BRIEF IN THIS CASE INCLUDES FAMILIAR ACCUSATIONS OF GOA COMPLICITY IN ALLEGED NAP ANTI-NATIONAL ACTIVITIES, AND HAS BEEN SUPPLEMENTED BY ALLEGATIONS OF RECENT MASSIVE INFILTRATION OF NAP-LINKED SABOTEURS FROM ACROSS THE BORDER. SIGNIFICANTLY, HOWEVER, THE HEARINGS HAVE NOT TO DATE BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY ANY FRESH PAK EFFORT TO WHIP UP DOMESTIC FEELING AGAINST THE AFGHANS, AND EDITORIAL COMMENT ON THE LENGTHY TESTIMONY (REPORTED IN GREAT DETAIL, BUT STRAIGHT, IN THE LOCAL PRESS) HAS

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BEEN SPARSE.

8. WHILE PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS ARE ON MUCH LESS DANGEROUS GROUND THAN THEY WERE EARLIER IN THE YEAR, AND ATMOSPHERICS HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY IMPROVED, PROSPECTS FOR ANY SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN RESOLVING FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES REMAIN POOR. THE SERIES OF HIGH-LEVEL TALKS WHICH WAS TO HAVE BEGUN IN JANUARY IN AN EFFORT TO DEAL WITH THESE ISSUES HAS NOT BEEN RESCHEDULED. THE PAKS, WHO HAVE GOT THEIR POLITICAL HOUSE IN ORDER AGAIN IN THE FRONTIER PROVINCE, MAY AGAIN BE INTERESTED IN GOING AHEAD WITH THEM, BUT BELIEVE THAT THE AFGHANS WILL INSIST THAT THE BAN ON THE NAP BE RESCINDED AND THE PARTY'S JAILED LEADERS FREED AS PRECONDITIONS. BUT EVEN WERE TALKS TO BE HELD, ANY PROGRESS AT THEM ON THE FUNDAMENTALS

OF THE DISPUTE (AS DISTINCT FROM FURTHER IMPROVEMENT IN LESS CENTRAL ASPECTS) WOULD REQUIRE SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES IN THE BASIC POLICIES OF ONE OR BOTH GOVERNMENTS. AS SEEN FROM ISLAMABAD, THIS DOES NOT SEEM IN THE CARDS.

9. BANGLADESH. A YEAR AFTER PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S ABORTIVE PILGRIMAGE TO DACCA, PROGRESS TOWARD NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH REMAINS STALLED ON DEAD CENTER. THE ISSUES OF THE DIVISION OF PRE-1971 ASSETS AND LIABILITIES AND OF THE FURTHER REPATRIATION OF BIHARIS TO PAKISTAN REMAIN THE BONES OF CONTENTION. ALTHOUGH THE PAKS HAVE SHOWN SOME SENSITIVITY TO RECENT BDG EFFORTS TO MOBILIZE

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1077

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

XAMCONSUL KARACHI 3459

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

RUEHMOBEAMEMBASSY MOSCOW 932  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
USLO PEKING  
CINCPAC

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR ITS POSITION -- DACCA'S  
SUCCESSFUL EFFORT AT THE JAMAICA COMMONWEALTH CONFER-  
ENCE WAS PARTICULARLY ANNOYING TO THEM -- THE GOP  
SEEMS PREPARED TO SIT TIGHT UNTIL IT HAS WORD THAT  
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THE BENGALLEES ARE WILLING TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL MODIFI-  
CATIONS IN THEIR BARGAINING POSITION. THE GOP NOW  
FINDS BDG DEMANDS TOO HIGH A PRICE TO PAY FOR THE  
ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND WHATEVER  
OTHER DUBIOUS ADVANTAGES NORMALIZATION MAY OFFER.

10. IRAN. PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH IRAN REMAIN  
CLOSE. THERE WERE NO DRAMATIC VISITS OR LOAN ANNOUNCE-  
MENTS: THE PERIOD SEEMED MORE ONE OF CONSOLIDATION  
THAN OF FRESH ADVANCES. THE GOP CONTINUED TO REGARD  
THE SHAH AS A FORCE FOR STABILITY IN THE AREA. IN  
THIS CONTEXT IT SAW AFGHAN PRESIDENT DAUD'S VISIT TO  
TEHRAN AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE IRANIAN LEADER TO  
BRING ABOUT A MORE CONCILIATORY AND MODERATE ATTITUDE  
ON THE PART OF THE GOA, NOT AS A CHALLENGE TO THE  
SPECIAL POSITION THE GOP HAS ENJOYED IN IRAN'S ECONOMIC  
AND POLITICAL POLICIES.

DESPITE THE CONTINUING WARMTH OF THEIR TIES, WHICH WERE  
FURTHER REINFORCED IN THE PERIOD BY FRESH EVIDENCE OF  
PAK RECOMMITMENT TO A REINVIGORATED CENTO, SOME PROBLEMS  
IN PAK-IRANIAN RELATIONS NOW SEEM POTENTIALLY IN THE  
OFFING. IF THEY DEVELOP THEY WILL BE THE RESULT OF  
WHAT THE PAKS NOW FEAR MAY BE IRAN'S UNREADINESS OR  
INABILITY TO MAKE AVAILABLE FUNDS FOR PURCHASES OF  
MILITARY EQUIPMENT (OR TO PROVIDE SECOND HAND ARMS)  
IN THE AMOUNTS THEY HAD HOPED FOR. HOW FORTHCOMING  
THE IRANIANS WILL BE IS STILL VERY MUCH AN UNANSWERED  
QUESTION AND AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT ONE FOR THE PAKS.

11. THE MUSLIM WORLD. THE CREAM OF PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN  
MINISTRY IS NOW AT JIDDA ATTENDING THE ISLAMIC FOREIGN  
MINISTERS' CONFERENCE, FURTHER PROOF, IF ANY WERE  
NEEDED, OF THE GOP'S CONTINUING EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN



AND STRENGTHEN ITS TIES WITH A MUSLIM WORLD WHOSE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT HAS BEEN A MAJOR SOURCE OF STRENGTH FOR PAKISTAN. THERE WERE ALSO OTHER VISITS BACK AND FORTH DURING THE PERIOD, MOST NOTABLY OF BHUTTO CABINET CONFIDANT ABDUL HAFIZ PIRZADA TO LIBYA AND THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES, AND IF NO FURTHER FINANCIAL COMMITMENTS WERE RECORDED SOME FURTHER STEPS

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WERE TAKEN IN IMPLEMENTING PROJECTS ALREADY AGREED UPON. BHUTTO HIMSELF IS REPORTEDLY CONSIDERING A VISIT TO SAUDI ARABIA -- HE WAS THERE BRIEFLY FOR KING FAISAL'S FUNERAL -- APPARENTLY IN AN EFFORT TO COAX THE NEW SAG TO MAKE MORE FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR PAK ARMS PURCHASES. RIYADH'S RESPONSE TO THESE APPEALS APPEARS TO BE AS UNCERTAIN TO THE GOP AS DOES TEHRAN'S.

12. THE UNITED STATES. ALTHOUGH THE GOP'S REACTION TO THE FALL OF CAMBODIA AND SOUTH VIETNAM WAS NOT UNEXPECTED 39 IT HAD LONG SINCE RECOGNIZED THE GRUNK AND HAD VIEWED THE INDO-CHINA STRUGGLE LARGELY IN TERMS OF A THIRD WORLD LIBERATION EFFORT -- A SHARP BHUTTO SPEECH AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, CONTINUED BIASED HANDLING OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NEWS REPORTS BY THE GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED PRESS INTRODUCED MINOR IRRITANTS INTO OTHERWISE VERY GOOD US-PAK RELATIONS AS THE FINAL COLLAPSE OCCURRED. MUCH MORE SIGNIFICANT TO THE FUTURE COURSE OF THESE RELATIONS WAS THE APPARENTLY WIDE-SPREAD APPREHENSION IN THE GOP AND ELSEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY THAT THE US RETREAT FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA MIGHT PRESAGE A WEAKENING OF THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT PAK INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. IN THIS CONTEXT, SECRETARY KISSINGER'S REITERATOPM OF OUR COMMITMENT AT THE CENTO FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE WAS PARTICULARLY WELCOMED. THE WIDESPREAD MEDIA COVERAGE THE GOP GAVE PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO'S WARM REMARKS AT THE EMBASSY FOURTH OF JULY RECEPTION WAS FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT THE PAKS CONTINUE TO VIEW THE US AS A FIRM FRIEND.

13. PAKISTAN MOVED SLOWLY DURING THE PERIOD IN FOLLOWING UP THE LIFTING OF THE US ARMS EMBARGO. UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE SOURCES OF FUTURE FUNDING AND A DESIRE TO REVIEW REQUIREMENTS AND POSSIBILITIES CAREFULLY BEFORE PLACING FIRM ORDERS BOTH CONTRIBUTED TO THIS DELIBERATE GOP APPROACH. AS ANTICIPATED, SOME DIFFERENCES IN INTERPRETATION OF THE REVISED POLICY SURFACED, BUT THESE HAVE NOT CAUSED SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS IN BILATERAL RELATIONS.

14. CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION. THE GOP CONTINUES TO

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VIEW THE PRC AS ITS CLOSEST BIG POWER SUPPORTER, AND THE PAKISTANIS MADE MUCH OF THE WARM RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO DURING THE VISIT HERE IN APRIL OF CHINESE VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN. LI'S ATTACK ON HEGEMONISM DREW STRONG APPLAUSE IN PAKISTAN. IF FOREIGN OFFICE SPECIALISTS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE CONDEMNATION WAS DIRECTLY PRIMARILY AT THE SOVIET UNION IN THE CONTEXT OF A MUCH WIDER PRC CAMPAIGN, THEY DID NOTHING TO CORRECT THE GENERAL PAK READING OF IT AS AN ATTACK ON INDIAN AMBITIONS FOR REGIONAL SUPREMACY.

15. A FURTHER BOOST TO SINO-PAK RELATIONS WAS THE COLLAPSE OF TENTATIVE MOVES WHICH MIGHT HAVE LEAD TO MORE NORMAL CHINESE RELATIONS WITH INDIA, A PROSPECT WHICH HAD NATURALLY DISCONCERTED THE GOP. CHINESE REACTION TO THE ANNEXATION OF SIKKIM (WHICH PAKISTAN ALSO SHARPLY CONDEMNED) AND THE HARSH PEKING ATTACK ON MRS. GANDHI'S REPRESSIVE POLITICAL MOVES WERE WELL RECEIVED IN ISLAMABAD IN THIS CONTEXT.

16. IF THE PAKS PAID PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE PRC'S NEGATIVE REACTION TO THE INDIAN PRIME MINISTER'S MOVES, THEY ALSO TOOK CAREFUL NOT OF OUTSPOKEN SOVIET SUPPORT FOR THE LADY. THE SOVIETS HAVE REPORTEDLY MADE QUIET OVERTURES TO THE PAKS OVER THE LAST MONTHS, POSSIBLY SEEKING TO CAPITALIZE ON PAK DOUBTS ABOUT US

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AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
AMEMBASSY DACCA  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY KABUL  
AMCONSUL KARACHI  
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU  
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INTEREST IN ASIA. ALTHOUGH THE GOP HAS BEEN CAREFUL  
NOT TO OFFEND THE USSR -- IT HAS SEEN TO IT FOR  
EXAMPLE THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE IN NO WAY BEEN MENTIONED  
IN THE COURSE OF THE PAKISTAN SUPREME COURT'S REVIEW  
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OF THE BANNING OF THE ALLEGEDLY SECESSIONIST AND PRO-  
AFGHAN NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY -- AND HAS BEEN PLEASED BY  
THE GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT OF PAK-USSR TIES DURING THE  
BHUTTO YEARS, IT HAS CONSIDERED THAT THE SOVIETS  
REMAIN BASICALLY COMMITTED TO THE SUPPORT OF INDIAN  
INTERESTS IN THE SUBCONTINENT. THE REITERATION OF  
SOVIET BACKING FOR THE EMBATTLED MRS. GANDHI WILL  
STRENGTHEN THIS VIEW, AND IS LIKELY TO CAUSE THE PAKS  
TO REGARD SOVIET BLANDISHMENTS EVEN MORE SUSPICIOUSLY.

17. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES. THE PATTERN OF GOP  
POSITIONS FAMILIAR FROM POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS IN THE  
INTERNATIONAL ARENA, I.E., SUPPORT FOR MAINSTREAM THIRD  
WORLD POSITIONS, CARRIES OVER TO ECONOMIC ISSUES AS  
WELL. PAKISTAN CAN GENERALLY BE COUNTED ON TO SUPPORT  
THE MAINSTREAM OF GROUP OF 77 OPINION IN ANY CONTRO-

VERSY BETWEEN THE INDUSTRIALIZED AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES -- OR EVEN IN ANY HEATED CONTROVERSY WITHIN THE LDC FAMILY. THE ONLY EXCEPTIONS TO THIS RULE OCCUR WHEN PAKISTAN'S ECONOMIC INTERESTS ARE STRONGLY AND IMMEDIATELY INVOLVED, AND WHEN AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT OF TANGIBLE BENEFIT TO PAKISTAN HAS A REASONABLE CHANCE OF BEING ACHIEVED. DISCUSSIONS OF THE PROPOSED AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT FUND, THE WORLD BANK'S THIRD WINDOW, EXPANSION OF THE IMF OIL FACILITY, AND THE IMF TRUST FUND FOR MSA'S ALL FALL INTO THIS CATEGORY: PAKISTAN EXPECTS TO BENEFIT AND NEEDS THE MONEY BADLY ENOUGH TO STICK ITS NECK OUT A BIT. THE APPARENTLY MODERATE ROLE PLAYED BY THE PAKISTANI DELEGATION AT THE JUNE WORLD FOOD COUNCIL MEETING WAS A REFLECTION OF THIS TYPE OF PRAGMATISM.

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, QUARTERLY REPORTS, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 16 JUL 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 21 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <21 APR 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <22 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

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EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN RELATIONS -- QUARTERLY ASSESSMENT SUMMARY: THE LAST THREE MONTHS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PK  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006